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BY
KUNO MEYER

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I. *Sualtaim.*

It has repeatedly been pointed out by Thurneysen, John MacNeill and myself that certain figures in ancient Irish historical and legendary lore owe their existence, or at least their names, to a misunderstanding of words or phrases, a misinterpretation of place-names, or to the mistakes of careless or ignorant scribes. Thus John MacNeill showed in the Zeitschrift f. celt. Phil. X p. 86 that King Amadair Flidais, who figures in the early genealogies, evolved from a misreading of *a máthair Flidais* 'his mother (was) Flidais'. This particular mistake belongs to a class of errors which abound in Irish as well as in Welsh genealogical tables. Indeed, one of the charges brought against the compilers of pedigrees by Gilla in Chomded, a poet of the twelfth century, in his poem beginning *A Rí ríchid, réidig dam,* is precisely of this nature. He says, LL p. 144 a:

Failet sē muid, sain mebair, cummaiscit crāeb ṅgenelaig:
totinsma dāerchland ic dul i lloc sācrchland re slonnud;
Torrchi mogad, mod mebla, ocus dībad tigerna,
serg na sācrchland, étig ūath, la forbairt na n-athechthūath;
Míscrībend do gnē eōlais do lucht ulc[1] *in aneōlais,*
nó lucht ind eōlais, nī ferr, gníit ar múin mīscrībend.

'There are six modes specially to be remembered, which confound a genealogical table: a wholesale insertion of baseborn folk taking the place of nobles in surnames;

Multiplying[2] serfs, a shameful mode, and extinction of lords; reducing the aristocracy, a hideous error, by increasing the rent-paying tribes;

Miswriting in the guise of learning by the evil folk of ignorance; or it is the learned, which is no better, who for the sake of pelf perpetrate the miswriting'.

As regards legend, Thurneysen has pointed out in Zeitschr. X p. 424 that King Bran mac Febail in *Imram Brain* originates from a misinterpretation of the name of the promontory called *Srûb Brain* 'Raven's Beak', as if it were 'Bran's Headland'; and in the same way I have shown (Zur kelt. Wortkunde § 41) that the ancient Scottish place name *Aird Echde,* Ptolemy's *Ἐπίδιον ἄκρον,* mistaken to mean *Aird*

[1]uilc Facs.
[2]Literally 'pregnancy'.

Echdi 'Echde's Point', led to the invention of a fabulous warrior Echde.[1] A third instance of this kind is afforded by the place name *Inber Scene*, which denotes the knife-shaped estuary of the Kenmare river, being interpreted as 'Scian's Estuary', whence a heroine Scian figures among the fabulous early settlers of Ireland. See 'Ériu' II p. 85.

I believe that a somewhat similar mistake is responsible for the name, if not for the creation of another well-known figure of ancient Irish story-telling, that of the human father of Cuchulinn. In pagan tradition Cuchulinn was the son, or rather the reincarnation of the god Lug. A later age felt the need of providing him with a mortal father, a rather shadowy figure as such after-inventions are wont to be, except for one fine episode in Táin Bó Cúalngi, in which he plays the chief part. The best-known form of the name by which he goes is *Sualtaim*, but it is the latest among several. We also find *Sualtach* (sometimes spelt *Subhaltach*) and *Soalta, Soa(i)lte*, which latter forms are the earliest. They occur in the old-Irish tale 'Serglige Conculaind' (Ir. T. I p. 209) in the following couplet:

Diammad cara dam co se Cūchulaind mac Soalte;

in the oldest version of the Death of Conla, where Emer addresses her husband: *a maicc saigthig Soailte* (Ér. I 118 § 8), and in 'Sīaburcharpat Conculaind' (LU p. 113b 42): *ar nī sīabra rodatánic, is Cūchulaind mac Soalta.* In all three cases the name is not inflected, which seems to show that we have not here to do with a genuine old proper name.[2] Now by itself *mac soalte* would mean 'well-nurtured son', and that this is actually the original phrase to which the name of the father may be traced is proved, I think, by its occurrence in a piece of *retoric* or alliterative prose, in which Leborcham addresses Cuchulinn as follows (LL p. 119a):

Atraí, a Chūculaind, comérig, cobairthe Mag[3] *Murthemne ar firu Galeōn*[4]*, a gein Loga soalta, sói frit churad cathchlessu!* 'Get thee up,

[1] I may add here that in Cormac's Glossary § 585 the name of the promontory has actually been changed to *Aird Echdai Echbēil*: Dotictis didiu na bāi sin Echdi Echbēil for ingeilt a hAird Echdai Echbēil a hAlbai i crīch Dāl Rīata co mbītis i Seimniu Ulad.

[2] In the same way, as is well known, names of foreign origin are generally undeclined in Irish, a circumstance which led John MacNeill to regard the indeclinable Irish name *Brēnainn* as borrowed from O. W. *brēnhin* (contracted from *breĕnhin*).

[3] After *mag* a small space is left vacant by the scribe. Evidently some word had become illegible in the manuscript from which he copied, probably some alliterative adjective, perhaps *molbthach*.

[4] *firu galeoin* Facs. Cf. *Fir Galiōn*, LL 4b 16; *clū Galiōn*, Rennes Dinds. § 160.

Cuchulinn, arise, come to the help of the Plain of Murthemne against the men of Galeoin, thou well-nurtured son of Lug, address thyself to thy heroic battle-feats!'

The later form *Sualtach* (TBC ed. Wind. l. 547, Rawl. B. 502, p. 158, 32) suggests the meaning 'well-jointed', while *Sualtaim* may be looked upon as the superlative of *su-alta*, the genitive having, as so often in proper names, taken the place of the nominative. Lastly I may mention that the father of Sualtach is called Becalta and his grandfather Mōralta in the pedigree in Rawl. l. c., which later MSS. alter into Begfoltach and Mōrfoltach (see TBC ed. Wind. p. 389 n. 2).

II. *Fer Diad the Nibelung.*

In his essay on Germanic influences in old-Irish language and legend[1] Heinrich Zimmer endeavored among other things to show that the ancient Irish had to some extent become acquainted with the Nibelungen story. It was the name and some of the attributes of the hero Fer Diad in the epic tale Táin Bó Cúalngi that reminded him at the same time of a Nibelung and of Siegfried. He interpreted his name as 'Man of Mist', drew attention to the fact that in a poem placed in the mouth of Cúchulinn the epithet *nél ṅdatha* 'shapely cloud' is applied to him, and compared the horn skin *(congan-chness)* worn by him in battle to that of Siegfried.

Against this Windisch[2] pointed out that the name means rather 'Man of Smoke'[3], and that, unlike Siegfried's horny skin, Fer Diad's *conganchness* was a kind of armament like a *lorica,* a cuirass made of horn, which could be opened and closed. But there still remained the epithet *nél ṅdatha,* which even Windisch allows to be favorable to Zimmer's theory[4], in so much as *nél,* though its etymological connexion with Germ. *nebel* O. N. *nifl* seems doubtful[5], unquestionably means 'cloud'. However, the passage in which the expression is found needs a closer study than it has yet received.

It occurs in the lament in which Cúchulinn bewails the death of his old fellow pupil at his hands, but only in one version of it, that of the book of Leinster (LL), which Windisch has made the staple of his text. Now the numerous blunders of the scribe of LL, especially when copying poetry, are by this time notorious. As I have more than once pointed out, the early date and the beautiful penmanship of this manuscript should not blind us against the almost incredibly careless habits and perverse ingenuity of the scribe, which make LL, take it all in all, one of the least trustworthy of early Irish MSS.

[1]See Zeitschr. für deutsches Altertum XXXII, p. 293.

[2]In his edition of Táin Bó Cúalngi, p. 439.

[3]There is nothing mythical about a name like *Fer Diad.* It is evidently a nickname denoting perhaps a man with a smoke-colored complexion or hair, or referring to some accident at his birth, or the like.

[4]"Für Zimmers Annahme scheint der Ausdruck *mar Fer ṅDiad nél ndatha* LL 87b 43 zu sprechen".

[5]See Thurneysen, Handbuch § 122: "*nél* kann nicht auf ×neβλ ×nebhlos zurückgeführt werden".

The passage stands as follows in LL, p. 87b (Wind. l. 4022):

Ní bha lām lāich lethas cárna caurad mar Ḟer ṅDiad nél ṅdatha. Here are two glaring blunders, one of which, *lethas* instead of *letras*, Windisch, adopting the reading of the other MSS, has already corrected. As the lament is throughout composed in alliterative prose, in which at least two successive fully stressed syllables must alliterate, *Diad* coming after the two unstressed syllables *mar Ḟer*[1] should begin a new alliterative group. The reading *nél* must then be corrupt, while *ṅdatha* may stand. The true reading which fulfils all requirements, will be found in Egerton 209 and in Stowe, the former of which reads *ndeilinn datha*, the latter *nel— data*, where *nel—* stands for *n[d]elinn*. Here *delinn* is the accusative of *deil* f. 'a rod', which is inflected as an nn-stem also in *cor delenn* 'casting a rod'. The word is in poetry often applied to a warrior who smites his enemies like a rod, as in the poem on King Aed mac Diarmata of Leinster (Ir. T. I 319) who is called *in deil delgnaide* 'the distinguished rod', in Älteste Dichtung I p. 41 § 35 *(deil flann)*, or in Saltair na Rann l. 6115, where Saul is called *in deil dūrchathach na tres*[2] 'the hard-battling rod of the combats', or ibid. l. 5755, where it is applied to Goliath (*deil adbul* 'a huge rod').

Our passage should therefore be translated: 'There will not be found a hero's hand to hack warriors' flesh like that of Fer Diad[3], the shapely rod'; and so the 'Nibelung' Fer Diad and the notion that the ancient Irish had become acquainted with the story of Siegfried vanish alike into smoke.

[1]In personal or tribal names the first element of which is *fer, mac, ūa, māel, mess, cū* &c. the chief stress is on the second element, which alone can alliterate. So also in words like *macsamla* which in SR l. 7007 alliterates with *Solman*.

[2]Similarly, *a deil tresa tromthoraig*, 'O rod of a heavy-massed combat', Ir. T. III p. 11, where another MS. wrongly reads *a delb tresa*.

[3]Here we have an idiomatic construction which is not always rightly translated. Thus e.g. *is mō do chumachta-so indau-so* (Ir. T. III p. 236, l. 30) should be rendered 'thy power is greater than mine', not 'als ich bin', as Windisch translates on p. 249. Cf. ib. p. 236, 37. Similarly *mō a greim oldās cach rī* 'his power is greater than that of any king', Corm. § 884.

III. NOTES ON IRISH METRICS

1. The alliteration and pronunciation of *th*.

The period when *th* ceased to be pronounced as a dental spirant, and the pronunciation as *h*, which it has in the modern language, set in, has never been exactly defined. As has been repeatedly pointed out, it still had its full dental value in the ninth century, when the Norse rendered Ir. *Ethne* by *Eđna*, *Dubthach* by *Dufþakr*, &c. As for the later pronunciation, Thurneysen in his 'Handbuch' § 119 rightly says that it had come into existence by the eleventh century, if not earlier.

I believe we can fix the period more exactly by observing the practice followed by poets with regard to the alliteration of *th*. It is true, in Irish poetry the laws governing the alliteration of consonants are traditional and artificial, and no longer represent the actual pronunciation, their origin dating back to a time before either lenition or nasalisation had set in, so that e.g. *th* may alliterate with *t*, *mb* (pronounced *m*) with *b*, &c.

But by the side of this traditional alliteration we find middle- and modern-Irish poets occasionally adopting the more natural practice of alliterating according to the pronunciation of their time, and this is particularly the case with *th*, which is sometimes found to alliterate with *ṡ*, i.e. *h*, and even with vowels. I have already briefly referred to this practise in my 'Primer of Irish Metrics', p. 4, § 4, but without attempting to fix the period when it began. Since then I have paid greater attention to the subject and am now able to say that this kind of alliteration first occurs in poems composed during the second half of the tenth century. Thus Cinaed ūa Hartacāin, who died in 975, in a poem edited by Lucius Gwynn in 'Ériu' vol. VII has the following line (p. 225 § 45):

airisfet-sa ṁ thoss[1] *im ṡíd*

'As for me, I shall remain quietly in my fairy-dwelling'.

And again, p. 225 § 45:

i n-ebras riss 'na ṡíd thoich

'what was said to him in his native[2] fairy-dwelling'.

[1]The editor proposes to alter *thoss* into *ṡoss;* but cf. SR 1607, 1633, 1829 *(tass)* &c.

[2]Not 'hospitable', as the editor renders.

In both cases we have to deal with the second lines of a couplet where alliteration is imperative, a rule which Cinaed observes strictly throughout the poem.

Next we find that *th* like *ś* comes to alliterate with vowels, as in the following instance from 'Poems from the Dindsenchas' edited by Edward Gwynn (p. 14):

don dún uile ġrna thōraind

'to the whole stronghold after it had been marked out'.

It will be instructive to collect all examples of this kind of alliteration from another poem composed during the end of the tenth century, Saltair na Rann, in which they occur by the side of numerous instances of the older practice *(th : t)*. I have noticed the following:

106 *ōthā thalmain co ēsca*; cf. 416.
288 *fodasn-īada im thalmain.*
844 *dia nam thairbiur fond ōsur.*
1338 *forfēmdim a thimargain.*
1396 *darm thimna, darm forcetal.*
1462 *iarm thimnaib, iarm forcetlaib.*
1479 *d'imaithbeur in cach than.*
1532 *a mo thigerna, a Ādaim;* cf. 1578, 2052.
1577 *dēna mo thinchosc di śain.*
1852 *fria thimna, fria forngaire.*
2952 *dambeir fria ais dia thegdais.*
5846 *fo theisc śainigthe Śamūail.*
7160 *srāaim uisci do thalmannaib.*
8256 *muinter thalman is iffeirnn.*

The following may serve as examples from later poems, in addition to those from the 'Book of Fenagh' cited in the 'Primer of Ir. Metrics' l.c.:

do thuidecht is do śāeghal, Anecd. I 25 § 7.
ar romēt do śātha thair, ib. 34 § 76.
arna thuitim 'san imguin, ib. 36 § 89.
tarmairt a śūil mo thachtadh, ib. § 92.
d' ithi ġ śūla nīr thoisc āigh, ib. 37 § 98.
amārach t[h]icc mo śāeghal, ib. 39 § 113.
do bheith aghaidh fo thalmhain, Misc. K. Meyer 358 § 6.

We may then regard it as certain that the change in the pronunciation of *th* set in during the course of the tenth century and was an accomplished fact by the end of that period.

2. Rare *debide-rhymes.*

In 'Ériu' VII p. 10 I have drawn attention to certain couplets in

debide metre in which the usual order of the rhyme words is reversed, the longer word appearing in the first verse and the shorter in the second. I have since found some further examples in middle-Irish poetry.

Ancient Laws, vol. IV p. 218:

In treas scachtmain nach inill tuc lūan ocus māirt da[1] *lind.*

Táin Bó Cúalngi, ed. Windisch, l. 2770:

Dia mbad mē bad chomarlid da[2] *betis ōic di cach leith,*

or, as LU reads in the second verse, *bīad slōg immc di cach leith.* Here, it is true, both Egerton 93 and H. 2. 17 place the second verse before the first.

Ibidem, l. 2780:

Mas ē Dubthach Dōcltenga ar cūl na slūag dosrenga.

Seéla Cano, Aneed. I 13, 6:

A maicc Chondaid[3] *īar mBernas, gnīm dorignis ro bo bras.*

LL p. 277b: *A Ḟeidelm, a foltbuide, bēra mac do Dubthach de.*

In the same volume of 'Ériu' p. 12 I collected a number of couplets in *debide*, in which long vowels in syllables with consonantal ending rhyme with short ones. This is a license which even skilful poets allow themselves occasionally, as the following complete list of such rhymes from Saltair na Rann will show, in addition to the two instances from that poem printed in 'Ériu'.

l. 2257: *Ocht mblīadna sescat, nī scāil, ar nōi cētaib di blīadnaib.*

l. 2453: *Cethrib sostaib slicht 'sind āircc*[4] *ō drumlurgain co drumślait.*

l. 5909: *In tan ba ócenmíli āig oc Saúl cona slúagaib.*

l. 6141: *Atchūaid Ianuthān ān āig dond rīg rān inna rīgthaig.*

l. 6919: *Don chath chrōdonn rogab grcimm, atacomong do ōcnbēimm*[5].

l. 7351: *Ocus Geodcon, gnīm ṅdāna, do burba na mbarbarda.*

Another example is found in 'Laws' IV p. 218:

Acinc ocus satharnd sīr ngnāth do [f]richnam a n[d]cidcnach.

[1] = *do.* [2] = *no.*

[3] Better *Chonath* as on p. 12, 12, = early Irish *Coneth*, ogam CONETT-.

[4] That the *a* in *ārc* 'ark', borrowed from Latin *arca*, is long, is proved by numerous rhymes, e.g. *ārc* : *fōcntrācht* 2601, : *imrācht* 4209, 5505 &c., *āirc* : *āitt* 2571, 2609, 5158, where Stokes wrongly prints *ailt.*

[5] *ocnbeim* Stokes, wrongly.

IV. *An Old-Irish Poem ascribed to St. Moling.*

The following poem, which has not hitherto been edited or translated, will be found in the Book of Leinster, p. 149a. No other copy is known to me. In it King Moinach of Cashel (i.e. of Munster), a contemporary of Moling's, is praised for his severe punishment of criminals.

Molling .cc.

1 *Rochūala la nech lēgas libru:*
intí ances in mbidbaid iss é fessin as bidbu.
2 *Rochūala la cech ṅduine nodléga:*
cech ōen aric slabrada[1] *forrig cin cecha ndēna.*
3 *Roscríbad i lebraib*[2] *Dé ní tú romarb, acht is é;*
tucad dīles breth[3] *do chāch, dogoä bethaid nō brāth.*
4 *Mōinach Casil comdas*[4] *rí lasa marbtar drochdōini;*
atā Mumu lais i ssíd, rop maith Díä don dagríg.
5 *Roansat na drochdōini*[5] *ō romarbtha a cēili*[6]*;*
bendacht[7] *for ríg rodacroch, ba moch canait a scíri*[8]*.*
6 *Dia mbad [f]rim contūased rí, ropad ní a chland dia cís,*
drochdōini[9] *lais dochum bāis, ilar dagdōine*[10] *'ma meís.*
7 *Timmairg na dōini*[11] *tréna, airchis na dōini*[11] *trūaga,*
tol maicc Dé cecha ndēna, iss ē do less, rochūala.

MS. readings: [1]arric slabraid [2]alibru [3]braith [4]comadas [5]drochdoene [6]ceile [7]bendacht Crist [8]seire [9]drochdaine [10]degdoene [11]doene

R.

TRANSLATION.

1 I have heard it said by some one who reads books[1]: he who spares a criminal is himself a criminal.

2 I have heard it said by every person who so reads: each one that devises chains quells[2] crime, whatever he may do.

3 It has been written in the books[3] of God, it is not you who has slain but 'tis he; to each one proper judgment[4] has been given, he chooses life or doom of death.

[1]This verse is one syllable short in the original.

[2]*forrig*, 3. sg. of *forrgim*, a denominative of *forrach*, according to Pedersen § 731. Cf. *ar is galar ān forrich* (: *thig*), Lism. L. 4239.

[3]Or, if *a lebraib* is the true reading, 'out of the books'.

[4]The facsimile has *braith* which may be a late gen. of *bráth*.

4 Moinach of Cashel is a just[1] king by whom evil folk are killed; Munster through him is at peace, may God[2] be good to the noble king!

5 The evil folk have desisted since their fellows have been killed; a blessing upon the king who has hanged them, they have praised their meal too soon.[3]

6 If a king would listen to me, his offspring after him would amount to something; let him put evil folk to death, and have a multitude of good people around his table.

7 Keep the strong ones in check, have pity upon the wretched folk, perform the will of God whatever you may do,—that is your true advantage, I have heard it said.

V. *Ancient Irish Poems with sporadic rhyme.*

The following six poems which, with two exceptions, are here critically edited and translated for the first time, seem to belong to a special metrical group in early Irish poetry. Though they employ rhyme in a variety of ways, they do not metrically conform either with the old rhythmical alliterative system, of which I have given some account and examples in "Älteste irische Dichtung" (Berlin, 1913), or with the later syllabizing poetry. End rhyme appears in them in various positions, in couplets either introducing or concluding a varying number of unrhymed lines, or placed in the middle of such lines. In all other respects these poems belong to that class of composition which has developed from rhythmical prose known as *retoric,* the chief characteristics of which are a largely artificial order of words, with occasional tmesis, parallelism, antithesis, word to word alliteration, and rhythmical cadences at the end of periods.[4]

It is noteworthy that four of the poems here printed are quoted as examples of compositions which the aspiring *fili* had to study in the eighth and ninth years of his training. See Thurneysen, Mittelirische Verslehren, Ir. T. III p. 49 ff. That alone would seem to show that they constitute a special metrical group. Two other pieces quoted as subjects of study for the ninth year, *cētnad cuirmthige* (p. 51) and *cētnad tige nūi* (p. 52) are examples of *retoric* and do not show any traces of rhyme. Of another it must remain doubtful whether I am right in including it in our group, as only the introductory couplet is extant. This is all the more to be regretted as it is undoubtedly the

[1] *comadas* has to be pronounced *comdas,* as in SR 4778.

[2] Here *Día,* as often in poetry, has to be read with what is technically called *mallrugud* 'slowing down', so that it counts as two syllables. In SR Stokes proposed to insert *dil* wherever *Dia* is so used. That this is unnecessary is proved by l. 2685: *Rodiultsat a n Dïä ndil.*

[3] Literally, 'it was (too) early they sing their meal', i.e. they have reckoned without their host.

[4] See on this my essay on Learning in Ireland in the fifth century (Dublin, 1912), p. 13 ff.

oldest among these poems. The form *fēda* for later *fīada*, gen. sing. of *fīad* 'deer', and probably also *fē* for *fīa*, show that it belongs to the seventh century. It is called *cētnad n-imrime* (p. 53), which may be rendered by 'Song on starting for a ride', and may be restored as follows:

Donfē for fēda fē, donfē for machaire macc dūilig Dē

'May the Son of elemental God lead us on to a land (?) of deer, may He lead us on to a plain'.

An excellent example of the kind of composition described above is the 'prophylactic song of age' or 'prayer for long life' *(cētnad n-āisse*, p. 53), of which I have printed an edition and translation in the 'Miscellany presented to J. M. Mackay' (Liverpool, 1914), p. 226 ff. It is here reprinted for the sake of completeness. I regard it as an originally pagan prayer remodelled by a Christian poet. In both manuscripts in which it has come down to us it is ascribed to Fer fio, whom I would identify with Fer fio macc Fabri, abbot of Conry in Westmeath, who died in 762. The poem is a prayer addressed to pagan divinities for a long life, good fortune and lasting fame. Life is regarded as a journey into the 'Plain of Age' *(mag āessa)*, where the traveler is beset by phantoms, ill-omened animals, thieves, women-folk, and armed bands. In addition to such homoioteleuta as the trisyllables in the first and third stanzas we have rhyme in *cel : sen, bebe : febe*, in the verses from *richt* to *thecht*, in *buiden : uile*, and finally in *lessa : form-sa*.

1 *Admuiniur secht n-ingena*
dolbte snāthi macc n-āesmar.
Trī bās ūaim rohuccaiter!
trī āes dom dorataiter!
secht tonna tacid dom dorodailter!
Nīmchollet messe fom chūairt
i llūrig lasrēin[1] *cen lēniud!*
Nī nascthar mo chlū ar chel!
domthī āes, nīmthī bās corba sen.

2 *Admuiniur m' argetnia nad ba nad bebe:*
amser dom doridnastar findruni febe.
Rohorthar mo richt,
rosōerthar mo recht,
romōrthar mo lecht,
nīmthī bās for fecht,
rofīrthar mo thecht!

[1]The MSS. have *lasrien* and *lasren*. Cf. O'Dav. 1198: *laisrēin .i. lasamain nō ālaind nō calma, ut est: trena laeg laisrēin.*

Nīmragba nathir dīchonn
nā dorb dūrglass
nā dōel dīchuinn!
Nīmmillethar teol
nā cuire ban nā cuire buiden!
domthī aurchur n-amsire ō Rīg inna n-uile!

3 *Admuiniur Senach sechtamserach*
conaltar mnā sīde for bruinnib būais.
Nī bāiter mo śechtchaindel!
Am dūn dīthogail,
am aïl anscuichthe,
am lia lōgmar,
am sēn sechtmainech.
Ropo chētach cētblīadnach,
cech cēt diïb ar ūair!
Cotagaur cucum mo lessa:
robē rath in spiurto nōïb form-sa!
Domini est salus, ter, Christi est salus, ter.
Super populum tuum, Domine, benedictio tua.

TRANSLATION.

1 I invoke the seven daughters of the Sea,
who fashion the threads of the sons of long life.
May three deaths be taken from me!
May three periods of age be granted to me!
May seven waves of good fortune be dealt to me!
Phantoms shall not harm me on my journey
in flashing corslet without hindrance.
My fame shall not perish.
May old age come to me! death shall not come to me till I am old.
2 I invoke my Silver Champion who has not died, who will not die.
May a time be granted to me of the quality of white bronze!
May my double be slain!
May my right be maintained!
May my strength be increased!
Let my grave not be ready!
Death shall not come to me on an expedition.
May my journey be carried to the end!
The headless adder shall not seize me,

nor the hard-grey worm,
nor the headless black chafer.
Neither thief shall harm me,
nor a band of women, nor a band of armed men.
Let increase of time come to me from the King of the Universe!
3 I invoke Senach of the seven periods of time,
whom fairy women have reared on the breasts of plenty.
May my seven candles not be extinguished!
I am an indestructible stronghold,
I am an unshaken rock,
I am a precious stone,
I am the luck of the week.
May I live a hundred times a hundred years,
each hundred of them apart!
I summon their boons to me.
May the grace of the Holy Spirit be upon me!
Domini est salus (three times), Christi est salus (three times).
Super populum tuum, Domine, benedictio tua [Ps. 3 v. 9].

The next example of this kind of composition is found under the title *reicne roscadach* (l. c. p. 50) in a poem enumerating the prices to which the seven grades of *filid* are entitled for their various metrical compositions. In addition to the manuscripts used by Thurneysen I make use also of the quotations from this poem in 'Ancient Laws' V, p. 58 ff. and by O'Davoren in his Glossary § 476. After fourteen lines ending all except one (l. 3) in unrhymed trisyllables the poem is brought to a close by a couplet with trisyllabic endrhyme. There is alliteration and linking of the lines[1] except between 9/10, 11/12, 12/13. That we have to do with a complete poem is shown by the last word *(anamna)* beginning with the same letter as the first word of the poem *(A)*. A poem the first three lines of which are almost identical with those of our poem, but without a rhyming couplet at the end, will be found in the Metrical Treatises p. 31.

A Amorgein ānmoltaig,
ara fēsser mārfuirmib
ferba filed fēid :
Fuirim sensamaisc
5 *ar dēin co ndronchōri.*

[1]Notice the links in sen*s*amaisc : *a*r, bān*i*ndlōig : *a*r, ir*ch*ōraig : *c*ūic, mōr*n*atha : *n*ad, and see on this Ält. Dicht. I, p. 8.

Dligi[1] *boin mbānindlōig*
ar māin sōir sētruda.
Sais[2] *lulgaig lānmessaib*[3]
ar lēirlōidi lērigter.[4]
Ech dā bō billathach,[5]
lūath a rēimm,[6] *ar ardemain.*[7]
Biaid[8] *bō fo chāinchethair*
ar anair n-irchōraig.[9]
Cūic bāe cacha mōrnatha
nad ēcressa caramna.[10]
Carpat cumaile cachae[11] *anamna.*

TRANSLATION.

O most praiseworthy Amorgein,
that you may know[12] by (their) great compositions
the words of venerable[13] poets:
Give an old heifer
for a *dian* with firm symmetry.
You are entitled to a white in-calf cow
for the noble treasure of a *sētrud.*[14]
You will obtain[15] a milch cow with full standards
for studious *lōids*[16] that are carefully composed.
A steed of the value of two cows rich in milk,[17]
swift its course, for a lofty *emain.*
There will be a cow four fair times[18]

[1]dlig—B bera L, Laws.
[2]Sias B.
[3]lanmesaig Laws.
[4]leirlaidh leirigter Laws.
[5]sic Laws, bidlatnech L bilfothach B, O'Dav.
[6]aireim B airem Laws arenn L a rēimm ego.
[7]anairdeamain B ararademain L arairdeamain Laws.
[8]bid Laws.
[9]ircoraig B urcoraig Laws urchoir L.
[10]nadecres carbmna B nadicress carn imna curpu caramna .i. imna laedaib Laws narptír tressa caramna L nadicress caramna O'D.
[11]cachae B cach aeda L Laws.
[12]The quantity of *fēsser* is established by the rhyme with *crēsen,* Fél. Feb. 4.
[13]I take *fēid* as the dat. of *fīad* 'respect, welcome'.
[14]Cp. *mōin sōir sētfotha* in a poem quoted by O'Mulc. § 537 and edited Zur Kelt. Wortk. § 56.
[15]*sais, 2.* sg. s-fut. of *saigim.*
[16]Cp. *cona lóidib léirib,* Fél. Prol. 333.
[17]That *bil-lathach* is the right reading is shown by the link with *lūath; lathach* is an adjective in *-ach* from *laith* 'milk'.
[18]i.e. there will be four cows.

for a full melodious *anair.*
Five cows for every great *nath,*
whose bodies should not be meager.
A chariot of the value of a slave girl for every *anamain.*

The poem which I place next will be found in the Metrical Treatises p. 51 under the heading *Clethchor cōem.* It consists of a rhymeless section of ten lines, if my division is correct, followed by a quatrain in which the verses of each couplet contain eight syllables with monosyllabic endrhyme. The quatrain is joined by a link *(airide: atlochur)* to the end of the unrhymed section and does not perhaps originally belong to it. As the repetition of the initial letter *(āiliu: airide)* shows, the first ten lines form a complete whole.

Āiliu tech midchūarta
milscothaib fīath fāth :
fossud mainbthech[1] *a imbel ngarb*[2] *n-ochrach,*
blāithi bith[3] *a chrann mbī,*[4]
cōiri a dī ursainn
irard aircsinech[5] *ar dorus,*
lūachid a ṡoillse,[6]
drongel[7] *a chomla,*[8]
berrtha[9] *bir a glass,*[10]
altach a airide.[11]
Atlochur techt i tech co rīg,
a fis[12] *file*[13] *la bunad fīr;*[14]
do thich i tech docking[15] *for lār,*
is[16] *dīm nī gēbther*[17] *midchūairt mār.*

[1]nainbtheach B.
[2]garb codd.
[3]bid B.
[4]bhi L. Cf. O'Dav. § 233.
[5]irard codd. nairesinech L nairesinach B.
[6]a soillsi B om. L.
[7]droncel codd.
[8]comla codd.
[9]ber*t*ha L ber*b*tha B.
[10]glas B.
[11]adraidi B.
[12]fis B.
[13]fil— codd.
[14] a bunad ír L.
[15]docing B.
[16]es codd.
[17]nimgeibt*er* L.

TRANSLATION.

I wish[1] for a house with a mead-hall,
a song of welcome[2] with honeyed words:
firm and ample its rough edged ambit,
smooth the beams[3] of its thresholds,
symmetrical its two posts,
lofty and conspicuous in front of the door,[4]
brilliant its light,
solid and white[5] its door valve,
smooth-shaven the spit of its bolts,
well-jointed its high-seat.
I desire to go into a house to a king,[6]
to know him[7] in very truth:
from house into house I step upon the ground,
nor shall a great mead-hall be withheld from me.[8]

The next poem consists of seven short lines, all, except the last two, of unequal structure. The first and third, and the fifth and seventh lines rhyme. There is an almost entire absence of alliteration. The poem, which has for its subject the fort of Rathangan in county Kildare and its former owners, the kings of the Ui Berraidi of Leccach, has come down to us in two copies, in the Book of Leinster p. 314b and in Rawl. B 502, p. 122b 48. It was first printed and translated by me in 'Learning in Ireland' (Dublin, 1913) p. 19.

[1]Poems beginning in this manner are common, e.g. *Āiliu īath nĒrenn,* Ir. T. III p. 35; *āiliu laith lam* (leg. *lem) co meild maith,* O'Dav. 1218; *āiliu seinm,* ib. 1444; *āiliu Dia,* Laws I p. 10.

[2]I take *fīath* as gen. pl. of *fīad.* Cf. *co fātha fēith,* Kelt. Wortk. § 56, where I wrongly regarded *fēith* as the dat. of *fēth.*

[3]Cf. *for foradaib bith isind óenuch,* CZ III p. 216 § 31.

[4]Perhaps we should read *a fordorus* 'its lintel', to which the *n* before *aircsinech* in both MSS. seems to point.

[5]Perhaps the MS. reading *droncel,* which would give alliteration with *comla,* should stand. It might be rendered 'a solid omen' *(dron cēl).*

[6]Cp. *nī fetar citnē brīga mo dul i tech co rrīga,* Er. V 20, 3.

[7]Perhaps we should read *a fis filed* 'by the knowledge of a poet'.

[8]Cf. *nī gabthar dīm dul cech conair is āil dam,* CZ III 33, 18. *nī gēbam dīt tri fornert,* T Ferbe 832. The spelling *es* for *is* is meant to mark the non-palatal character of *s.* It is common also with the scribe of Harl. 5280. See CZ III 456, 13. 448, 3.8. 452, 10.17.

Clann Ōengusa Berraidi Hūi Berraidi oc[1] *Leccuch, de quibus Berchān cecinit ic Rāith Imgāin:*

Ind rāith i comair in dairfeda,[2]
ba Bruidgi, ba Cathail,
ba Āeda, ba hAilella,
ba Conaing, ba Cuilīni,
ocus ba Māele-Dūin.
Ind rāith dar ēis cāich[3] *ar ūair,*[4]
is ind rīg foäit[5] *i n-ūir.*

TRANSLATION.

The fort over against the oakwood,
it was Bruidge's, it was Cathal's,
it was Aed's, it was Ailill's,
it was Conaing's, it was Cuiline's,
and it was Mael-Duin's—
the fort remaining after each one[6] in turn,
and the kings[7] asleep in the ground.

Lastly I put here here also the introductory prayer from Amra Choluimb Chille, which though none of its editors have noticed it, consists of two stanzas with end-rhyme, while the rest of the Amra is composed in rhythmical alliterative prose. Three of its lines resolve themselves easily into a metrical scheme of 10 (or 5+5) + 4 syllables,[8] to which the last, if we throw out *fīriēn* and read *cluinethar* instead of *cluines*, would conform. There is monosyllabic end-rhyme *(nēit: mēit, dēr: nēl)* and the last four syllables of each line are joined to the preceding section by links (*g*nuis: *c*ula, *ē*gthiar: *ar*, *th*eintide: *d*iuderc, *d*onuāil: *d*e). That the prefatory prayer stands apart from the Amra itself is shown by the last words *nī discēoil* repeating the beginning of the latter, and not of the former. At the same time the introduction is joined

[1]o R.
[2]diruda L.
[3]deis cach rig R.
[4]iarnuair L.
[5]7 na sluaig fooit R 7 na rig ronfoat L.
[6]'after each king' R.
[7]'and the hosts', R. *slūaig* would give internal rhyme with *ūair*.
[8]*nīmreilge i llurgu* is to be read with synizesis.

to the body of the poem *(corp ind immuin)* by an alliterative link *(nēl : nī)*.

Zimmer had arrived at the conclusion that the Amra is actually what it pretends to be, a composition of the end of the sixth century, and pending a minute linguistic investigation there is, I think, much to be said in favor of his opinion. The entire absence of the mention of miracles is one point. If none of the manuscripts exhibit such archaic forms as we might expect, e.g. *ō* for later *ūa, ē* for *īa* and the like, that may be due to their being all derived from one archetype written and partly remodelled during the eighth or a later century. It is greatly to be regretted that all the editors of the poem, O'Beirne Crowe, Atkinson and Stokes, have based their interpretation throughout on the worthless and often silly native glosses, which were written at a time when the language of the Amra was no longer understood. These should be wholly set aside and an attempt be made to interpret the poem from our own knowledge. When e.g. in the quatrain printed below all editors have followed the glossator in translating *diudercc* by 'long look', as if it were a compound of Lat. *diu* and Ir. *dercc,* they have not considered the rhyme *diudercc : diupert* which they all quote (e.g. RC XX p. 156) and which proves that the *d* of *dercc* is not lenited, as it would be in such a compound. To clinch the matter there is the spelling *diutercc* in LH, and thus it is likely that we have to do with a compound *di-ud-dercc* as I proposed in my 'Contributions.' The word seems to scan as three syllables. Again, the translators adopt the explanation of the glosses in rendering the word *axal* by 'conversation' or taking it as the name of an angel, while it should in all passages be translated by 'approach' or 'visit', being the verbal noun of *ad-com-sel-,* as *tōxal* is of *to-fo-com-sel,* &c.

Among undoubted marks of great age Zimmer has mentioned the use of *re n-* 'before' as a conjunction, instead of the later *resiu.* Other such marks are the passive ending *-thiar* in i-verbs, the use of *nu* in the sense of 'now', and the occurrence of the substantive verb in certain functions where in the later language the copula is used, as e.g. *bōi sab sūithe* 'he was a prop of knowledge', or *bōi ūath fri demal* 'he was a terror to the Devil'. This is also the case in other very ancient compositions, such as the prophecy of Moccu Mugairni to Eochaid Fūath nAirt in Rawl. B 502, p. 125a, where we have *biait betha airchinn* 'they

will be chieftains of the world', or *biat oirddnidi oircgnig ollamnaig* 'they will be exalted, destructive, masterly'.

1 *Dīa Dïa dorrogus re tīas inna gnūis culu tre nēit.*
Dīa nime nīmreilge ị llurgu i n-ēgthiar ar mūichthea mēit.
2 *Dīa mār m' anacul*[1] *de muir theintidiu,*[2] *diudercc*[3] *ndēr,*
Dīa fīriēn fīroeus cluinethar[4] *mo donuāil*[5] *de nemīath*[6] *nēl.*

TRANSLATION.

1 God, God, let me beseech Him ere I go into His presence through chariots of battle.[7]
The God of Heaven shall not let me into lands where there is outcry on account of the greatness of the smothering.[8]
2 Great God is my protection from the fiery sea,[9] a tearful sight.
The just, truly-near God hears my wail[10] from the heaven-land of clouds.

[1]sic LH mo anacul cett.
[2]mur theintide codd.
[3]diutercc LH.
[4]cluines codd.
[5]donúaill LU donuail R.
[6]nimiath var.

[7]Here the poet compares the host of demons attacking the soul as it departs from the body to battle-chariots through which he has to pass. As to the artificial order of words, compare *guin īar Lugdach* 'after the slaying of Lugaid', in a ninth century poem in LL p. 51b.

[8]*mūchad* is the ordinary word for the smothering smoke of hell fire. Cf. e.g. *formūchad inna ngnūise* (in hell), Tenga Bithnūa § 120; *is dē do mūchad,* Ér. III 7, 4.

[9]Though all the MSS. have *mur theintide* the reference is evidently to the fiery sea of hell. Cf. e.g. *muir tened impu connice a smecha,* FA. § 25; *a muir tuilbrēn teintide,* Ér. III 30 § 15.

[10]*donuāl* f., with IE. *u* preserved, later *donāl.* Cf. *donāla co ndilochta dochum nime nēl,* Ér. II 54 § 5. In *donāl chon cendaid co cert,* Laud 615, p. 138 it denotes the wailing howl of a dog.

VI. *Philological Notes.*

1. Old-Ir. *dú* f. 'earth, ground, place'.

So few examples of the declensional forms of this word have hitherto been collected that the following will be a welcome addition to Pedersen's list in § 52 of his Grammar. Accusative: *rōinfid fuil fēne fo don,* TBC ed. Wind. p. 405; *assolcus don do chētnad Chrīst* 'I have opened a place to an inaugural song of Christ', Ir. T. III p. 51, 20. Genitive: *foichle ōcu aladon*[1] 'beware of the warriors of a foreign land!' Anecd. I p. 13,7. Dative:

a ben ucut, nā fer mol frisin[2] *marb dochūaid do don,*[3]
'O woman yonder, make no praise for the dead man that has gone to earth'.

2. Old-Ir. *comram* m. 'contest'.

In § 798 of his Comparative Grammar Pedersen hesitatingly suggests that this word may contain an earlier form of the verbal noun that goes with *riad-*. I would prefer to look upon it as a compound of *rām* 'the act of rowing', so that its original meaning would be 'competitive rowing, a rowing race'. Compare the similar development in the meaning of *cumleng* 'contest', originally 'competitive leaping'.

3. O. Ir. *mōr-fairgge* f. 'great ocean'.

J. Loth has endeavored to equate an assumed *mŏrfairgge* with the Welsh *mercrydd*. There is however no such Irish word. We have to do with a compound with *mōr* coined for the purpose of getting alliteration with *muir,* with which the word is always found coupled, e.g. *i crācs mara 7 mōrfairgge,* CZ X 410, 9; *a mbēl mara 7 mōrfairrge,* Misc. K. Meyer p. 313 § 3; ib. § 4 &c.

4. O. Ir. *fīrinne* f. 'truth, righteousness'.

Thurneysen Handb. § 908 would explain the *nn* of this word as due to the influence of a popular connexion with *inne* f. 'sense'. A simpler explanation may be found in the law discovered by John MacNeill, according to which *n* in unstressed syllables is doubled when an *r* (or *l*) precedes it.

[1]alladon MS.
[2]forsin var.
[3]Wrongly divided and rendered by the editor.

5. O. Ir. *cūach* m. 'a cup'.

Stokes[1] and others have repeatedly connected this word with Lat. *caucus* &c. either as a cognate or loan. Against this I pointed out that the word is always disyllabic in O. Irish poetry.[2] I regard it as a derivative in *-ach* from the adjective *cūa* 'hollow', the oldest form of which is *cauc (ceppān cauc crīn ndaro* 'a hollow withered block of oak', Anecd. II 17 § 10) cognate with Lat. *cavus* &c., so that it originally denotes a *Hohlgefäss*. As the word is masculine some noun of that gender has to be understood.

6. O. Ir. *su-astir*.

The facsimile of the Book of Leinster p. 4b 12 reads *ba suastin mo śét*. Here we should clearly emend to *suastir*, an adjective meaning 'having a pleasant journey', so that we may translate 'my road was that of a pleasant journey'.

7. O. Ir. *ēl-ap* 'divine ruler'.

This curious word is a compound of Hebrew *êl* 'God' and Ir. *ap*, a loan from Lat. *abbas*. It occurs in the following stanza quoted in the Metrical Treatises (Ir. T. III p. 57) in illustration of the metre *ochtfoclach:*

Fīachra, fer nā fēle,
cotgaib trīathblai ar thrēne,
gass gel co ngrūaid grēne,
dian[3] *lān Ēre*[4] *ard;*
Gērat[5] *glūair co nglaine,*
ēlap[6] *slūaig co saine,*
conid minn each maige,
bale buile na mbard.

'Fiachra, generous man, who holds the lordly land together by strength, a bright scion with sunny cheek, of whom[7] illustrious Erin is full;

[1] See e.g. Ir. T. III p. 226.
[2] It is still scanned as such in the tenth century, e.g. SR 6388, 6390.
[3] dia L.
[4] heriu L eri B.
[5] gerait L.
[6] elaip L.
[7] i.e. of whose fame.

Brilliant champion with splendor, divine ruler of a distinguished host, so that he is the diadem of every plain, the strong shelter of the bards'.

As the highest rank in the ancient Irish Church was that of the abbot (not of the bishop), the word *ap* is commonly applied to kings and all other high dignitaries, the Pope is called *ap Rōma* 'abbot of Rome' and God *ap nime* 'abbot of Heaven', or *ap archaingel* 'the abbot of archangels', Ér. III, Cormac's Rule § 46. In a poem following immediately upon ours we find the compound *apad-māl* 'lordly prince' in rhyme with *Matudān*.

As the rhymes *grēne : Ēre, glaine* (dat.) : *maige : buile* show, our poem cannot be much earlier than the eleventh century. For the sake of the rhyme *bile* 'a sheltering tree' is spelt *buile*. Cf. Kelt. Wortk. § 121.

8. O. Ir. *rīg-dūn* 'royal fort'.

It is always interesting to find in Irish an exact parallel of some wellknown Gaulish or old-British compound. Such a one is *rīgdūn*, Tochm. Ferbe l. 838, answering exactly to Ptolemy's '*Ριγόδουνον*.

9. O. Ir. *cet* 'it is permitted, permission'.

In my 'Keltische Wortkunde', § 102 I contended that this was not a native Irish word and explained it as a shortening of Lat. *licet*. I believe my proposal has not found much favor among Irish scholars. And yet it must stand; for it is established by the occurrence in very old texts of the fuller form in the same use and function. The following instances have become known to me: *rīagol in Choimded in so, is licet cia nospromae*, Ér. I 202 § 29 (old metrical rule); *air is lecet du sudib erbert bith* &c., Ml. 69a 23; *is licet doaib*, Ér. VII 140 § 3; *is liceth doaib*, ib.; *is licet dó praind*, ib. 150 § 19.

10. Old-Irish nouns in ˣ*-ntī-*.

In Kelt. Wortk. §§ 108 and 109 I added two further instances of this formation to those already known, viz. *genit* 'a laughing sprite' and *gelit* 'a leech'. There are still many others. As Cormac in his Glossary hit upon the correct explanation of *birit* (§ 139), so I think he is right also in his etymology of *binit* f. 'rennet' when he says (§ 125): *benaid in n-as co mbī tiug .i. tēcht* 'it strikes the milk so that

it turns thick, i.e. coagulated'. In § 140 he spells the word *benit* in order to substantiate his fanciful derivation of the tribal name *Bentraige*.

Another word of the same origin is *scinnit* f. 'kernel', derived from *scenn-, scinn-* 'to leap or jump forth', so that it originally denotes that which breaks forth from the fruit. The nom. plur. occurs in Tenga Bithnūa § 52: *loca lōgmara scinniti a thoraid* 'the kernels of its fruit were precious stones'.

Two diminutives in *-ān* also belong to this group. One of them, *giritān*, glossed by *faochain mara* 'periwinkles' (Corm. § 730), is derived from *ger-* 'to heat, inflame, burn', because they sting or inflame when touched or eaten; the other, *milgitān* 'sweetbread' (ib. § 860), comes from *melg-* in an intransitive sense, 'to produce milk'.

11. O. Ir. *fonnam* m. 'palpitation'.

Both Cormac (§ 122, Transl. p. 159) and O'Davoren (§ 848) quote from some old text the phrase *i fonnam mo thuirc*, which Cormac explains as *i foglūasacht mo chridi* 'in the agitation of my heart'. I take *fonnam* to stand for *fo-snām*. For *snām* 'the act of swimming' denotes generally any rhythmical movement, such as the flight of birds (*snām sebaic* 'a hawk's flight', in Ir. T. III p. 12 the name of a metre), the peculiar shambling gait of the wolf (*fāelṡnam*[1], Cath Catharda, l. 1832), &c. So *fonnam* here denotes the rhythmical movement of the heart, 'palpitation'.

12. O. Ir. *rodbo* 'or'.

In his Handbuch § 874 Thurneysen is doubtful whether O. Ir. *rodbo*, literally 'may be', can be used to introduce the second element of a disjunctive phrase. He gives only one example from Wb 14c 24, *rodbo chosmilius*, which he rightly translates 'or (it is) a simile'. Here is another from Laws IV 340, 1: *dligthir brethim la rīg rodbo brithim cadesin* 'it is obligatory that a king should have a judge, or that he be a judge himself'.[2] In Anecd. III 64, 8 *rodbo ō littrib nō ō himacallmaib* 'whether it be from letters or from conversations' we have the usual construction.

[1] I have met *Fōilnam* also as a personal name, but have mislaid the reference. It answers to the French *Pas-de-loup* and the German *Wolfgang*, of which latter J. Grimm gave such a fanciful explanation, while it simply denotes a man with a peculiar gait resembling that of the wolf.

[2] Not 'though he is himself a judge', as the editor translates.

13. Ir. *mac samla, macsamail* 'one's like, fellow'.

In his 'Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland' (Kristiania, 1915), p. 40, Marstrander regards the first element in the wellknown expression *macasamla,* mod. *macasamhail,* as borrowed from O. N. *maka,* the oblique case of *maki* 'match, fellow'. This is not a new proposal, and it has already been combated by the late L. C. Stern in Zeitschr. IV. 185. Marstrander himself has some misgivings, for, as he rightly says, *maka* ought to have given *maga* in mod. Irish. However, he attempts to explain the retention of *k* by assuming that it was preserved by the following *s.*

The truth is that we have to do with a peculiar and old native mode of expression, in which *macc* 'son, boy' is used in a way that reminds one of similar expressions in oriental languages.[1] Zimmer would probably have classed it with others which he has enumerated in Zeitschr. IX p. 110 as of non-Aryan origin.

The idiom assumes a variety of forms, the oldest of which seems to have been *macc samla* 'son of likeness', where *samla* is the gen. sing. of a feminine noun *samla.*[2] That we have not originally to do with a compound is clear from the use of the phrase in poetry, where *samla* counts as a separate word in rhyme and alliteration. A few instances will suffice. In a poem from Rawl. B 502, printed in Zeitschr. III p. 23, 29 we read:

noco tarla dam co se mac samla na crichi-se

'there has not hitherto come to me the like of this raid'. Here *samla* rhymes with *tarla.* In the following line from Tochm. Ferbe 653 it rhymes with *targa:*

or nī tharga is nīr gein a mac samla ṡin Chrūachain

'for there will not come nor has there been born one like him out of Cruachu'. In Salt. na Rann l. 7007 *(mac samla Solman)* it alliterates with *Solman,* and ib. l. 5367 with *sain.*

The next stage in the development of the phrase is that it came to be felt as a compound, but without lenition of the *s,* as would have been the case in a genuine compound. Thus we have not only *do macsamla,* TBC 4053 (ed. Wind.) and *macsamla Conchobuir,* ib. 875, but *id a macsamla* 'a withe like it', ib. 612, *mēla a macsamla* 'a disgrace

[1]Stern, l.c. has drawn attention to this and given examples from Irish, to which we may add *macc meda* 'son of mead' Anecd. II 35 § 8, i.e. a heavy drinker of mead; *macc na trāth,* i.e. one who keeps the canonical hours strictly; *macc mīraith* 'son of disgrace'.

[2]In Salt. na Rann l. 3821 we should read:

Rī dorat sain fri samlai do Mōisi do mac Amrai. Cf. l. 4638: *fri samlai sōergrāid.*

like it', ib. 648 &c. In the last instance the Stowe MS. reads *a macasamla*, which shows that *mac a samla* 'her like' or 'their like' had become petrified. A good example of this is *nī raibi isin domhun mhnāi a maccasamla* 'there was not in the world a woman like her', TTr.[2] l. 370.

Now by the side of these forms we find *macsamail*, which is used exactly like *samail* by itself, as e.g. *nī tāinic samail a delba son*, Ir. T. III p. 186, 1, or *nī fūair a samail di graig*, Bergl. Conc. 37. And lastly we get *macasamail*, which is to be explained like *macasamla* above.

14. A genitive construction in Irish poetry.

Editors and translators of old- and middle-Irish texts, I myself among the number, have often misunderstood and misrendered an idiomatic genitive construction, of which the early poets are particularly fond. I have drawn attention to it in 'Älteste Dichtung' I p. 56 § 3, in a note on the line

cāinlāech Luigdech lārtha īath

'L.[1] was a fine warrior for[2] laying waste lands'.

In 'Hail Brigit' p. 14, l. 1, I did not see that we have the same construction in *im chúail claidcb cumtaig drend* which should be rendered 'around a shock of swords for making battle'. Here *cumtaig* is the gen. sg. of *cumtach*, and the supposed nom. *cumtaig* which I give in my 'Contributions' and which Stokes registers in the Index to Saltair na Rann is a vox nihili. In the same way the entries *aurdaig (irdaig)* are in all cases genitives of *aurdach*. That Stokes did not at the time understand the construction is also shown by his separating it from the context by the insertion of a comma, as in l. 3685 *for cel clūithi cin.* and l. 5863 *scīath clōithi bann*, where *clōithi* is the gen. of *clōud (clōd)*; or in l. 5135 *in cethramad gnīmraid grāid* &c.

15. O. Ir. *legam* m. 'moth'.

This word, which Cormac in his Glossary § 799 fancifully connects with *lig-* 'to lick', is more likely a noun of the agent in *-am* (*-em*, see Thurn. Handb. § 268) from *leg-* (trans.) 'to dissolve'. *Sirem*, another word of the same formation, seems to be the name for some parasitic animal, perhaps a kind of louse. It comes from *sir-* 'to search, visit, invade', as Cormac rightly explains: *īarsinnī sires ō luc do luc in capite et in toto corpore*. It is possible though that it may be the name

[1]Though in the note I took *Luigdech* as the gen. sing. of *Lugaid*, used idiomatically, it is possible that it may be a nominative form, of which *Luigthig* (Anecd. III 57, 4&c.) is the genitive.

[2]Literally, 'of'.

of some skin disease; for O'Clery registers a gloss *sireamh .i. galar no tinneas.*

16. O. Ir. *lētiu* f. 'act of daring'.

This is the verbal noun of *ro-lamur* 'I dare'. See Thurn. Handb. § 728. It occurs in the following quotation in O'Dav. § 1196, which Stokes has not translated: *lēt .i. linge, ut est rolēt lētenaib nīthu ar maignib ēcne* 'with daring deeds he dared conflicts upon steads of need'. The old preterit passive *rolēt* is here used in an active sense instead of *rolāmair,* just as *rocēt* and *rodēt* in the later language take the place of *rocechuin* and *rodāmair.*

17. O. Ir. *bordgal* 'a famous resort'.

In my essay on Learning in Ireland in the fifth century p. 11, I suggested that the place-name *Bordgal* in West Meath, which is the Irish form of *Burdigala,* now Bordeaux, may have been that of a settlement of fugitive scholars from Gaul. Whether that is so or not, the name and fame of Burdigala as a great center of learning and resort of students were so well known in ancient Ireland that *bordgal* became a general term for any famous place to which people resorted in large numbers. In that sense it is repeatedly used in Félire Oingusso. Thus Ephesus is called *ān bordgal* (Dec. 27), and in Epil. 253 the same phrase refers, not as Stokes took it, to St. Peter, but to *drong nōebepscop Rōmae,* so that we may render by 'gathering, assembly'. In Prol. 71

a rrūama cen tāde it bordgala mīle

means that their graveyards were meeting places or the goal of pilgrimage of thousands. The gen. occurs in Prol. 275:

bendacht cecha bordgal fort ordan, a Isu.

18. O. Ir. *anamthach* n. 'soul-flight'.

In Ériu III p. 35 Stokes doubtfully suggested that such might be the meaning of this rare word, though he erroneously wrote 'seelenflug' instead of 'seelenflucht'. I think that he was right and that we have to do with a compound, the second part of which *(-tach)* is the verb noun of *techim* 'I flee' in the form which it assumes in composition, as in *attach* n. 'refuge'. The dative occurs in the phrase *oc anamduch* in Ériu II 120, 4, which answers to *ria mbās,* ib. l. 1. O'Clery's *anamthaigh .i. anbáthadh* is either the gen. sg. excerpted from some old text, or belongs to a period when the old neuter had become feminine.

A word of similar meaning is *tig-anāl* f. 'last breath', which I mention here because in the translation of Cormac's Glossary, p. 5

O'Donovan and Stokes have misrendered it. It was the name given to certain utterances of Morann mac Mōin before his death (*isin tris tiganāil Morainn,* Corm. § 1196).

19. Impersonal constructions in Irish.

In his edition of TBC l. 4165 Windisch reads against the MS.: *go roich Fer Dīad issinn āth,* taking *Fer Dīad* as the subject. But the MS. reading, *Fer ṅDīad,* should stand and the rendering should be 'until it comes to F. D. in the ford'. It is a construction like *bec co bās Illainn cach nī* (Anecd. I 29 § 33) 'all is trifling till it comes to Illann's death', i.e. in comparison with his death; or *aithech cāch co hEogan hūais* (CZ VI 299, 35) 'every one is a boor in comparison with noble Eogan'.

In the same way editors have often mistaken and misrendered the impersonal construction *dorigni (derna) de,* literally 'it made of him' i.e. 'it made, turned or changed him', as e.g. *co nderna sruth sainemail dī* (Anecd. II 2, 5) 'it turned her into a beautiful river' or 'she was turned', &c. In Zeitschr. III 218 § 27 read *co nderna bruth óir de* with the MS. When Pokorny, in discussing the sentence *co nderna nōcb din macclēriuch* 'so the young cleric became a saint' in Misc. K. Meyer, p. 215, says '*dogníu . . di* wird intransitiv gebraucht in der Bedeutung 'ich werde zu', he misses the point by substituting a personal for an impersonal construction.

20. O. Ir. *nau, nō* 'nine times'.

In his edition of O'Davoren's Glossary § 547 Stokes prints *cusin nómad n-ó,* but does not translate. We should read *nó* and render 'to the nine times ninth'. An older form is *nau* in Audacht Morainn (LL 294 a): *dofechar ō Dīa co nómad nau* 'it is punished by God to the nine times ninth (degree)'.

21. Mid. Ir. *franc-amus* 'a Gaulish mercenary'.

In Rev. Celt. XIV p. 426 Stokes took the first part of this compound to be cognate with or as a loan from O. N. *frakkr* 'strong' or O. Welsh *franc* 'a youth'. It is however the national name *Franc* 'a Frank', which after the conquest of France by that people took the place of the earlier *Gall* in Irish terminology, as I have pointed out in 'Learning in Ireland', p. 24 note 25. The reference is to mercenaries from Gaul in the service of Irish kings, on which see Ériu IV p. 208. They are mentioned as *Gaill comlaind caithigthi* in Laws IV p. 340 (Críth Gablach), and as *Frangcaigh fognama (fochama* MS.) in Ir. T. III 91 § 128.

VII. *Notes on Irish texts.*

1. K. Meyer, Über die älteste irische Dichtung (Berlin, 1913).

On p. 18 § 21 we should read with the MS.: *bar Eirc būadaig būaidrī* and render 'son of victorious Erc, a triumphant king'.

On p. 40 § 19 instead of *ētnu* the MS. has *Bretnu*, so that 'Stirnen' on p. 44, 2 should be altered into 'Britten'. Ib. § 13 read with the MS.: *dagrīg domuin dōensius*, and translate 'the noble kings of the world, he made vassals of them'.

In § 22 it should have been stated that the MS. reads *flainn* instead of *flann*.

In § 50 the MS. has *dōene dōengein*, and in § 44 instead of *Aboth Aor* the reading of the MS. is *boath abor*.

In § 46 instead of *cathmīl* the MS. has *cathmilid*.

On p. 54 § 13 instead of *cath* R has correctly *ūath*.

On p. 59, l. 17 for *fedba* read *febda* with the MS.

On p. 60, l. 15 the reading of R is *cautma in caem*.

2. Stokes' edition of Félire Oengusso (Henry Bradshaw Society).

In the Corrigenda to this edition p. 472 Stokes proposed to translate *a hÉre* wherever it occurs in the text by 'oh Ireland!' as he had actually done under July 24. It was an unfortunate afterthought. In all cases it means 'out of Ireland' as the phrase is correctly rendered under July 31 and Sept. 5. Under July 24 the context is:

Mad toich duit a hÉre dot chobair cing báge

which should be translated 'If thou hast a natural right to a champion of battle from Ireland to aid thee'. Here the *duit* and the following *táthut* refer to the Irish reader, whom the poet repeatedly addresses, as e.g. in Prol. 297, where we should read *do intliucht* 'thy understanding' instead of Stokes' *dointliucht* 'bad understanding'.

Prol. 135: *nicon fess na romar ainm naich hé for talam.*

Here Stokes renders *na romar* by 'nor very great', taking *na* as *nā*, while it is the neuter of *nach* 'any'. The phrase *na romar* here means 'to any great extent'. Another example will be found in CZ V p. 501: *co mbātar uili asdig 7 nīrgabsat na romor don tig* 'and they did not take up any great space of the house'. In the Index s.v. *romar* Stokes mixes up *romōr* Jan. 31 with *romar*.

Jan. 16: *Cráibdig i fēil Fursai frisrocabsat ríge trí míli* &c. Here Stokes takes *cráibdig* as an attribute to *Fursai* and renders 'On the feast of Fursa the Pious', while it is nom. pl. referring to the subject *trí míli*. Similar constructions SR 346 *(dūir imthimchellat)* and 6909 *(glērdin rofersat in cath)*.

Feb. 1. Read *Brigit bán, balc n-úalann*. So also Feb. 13: *brígach n-úalann*, Sept. 26: *conid hé, án n-úalann*, and Nov. 29: *ba cáin mind, már n-úalann*. In all cases we have to do with a noun *úalann*.

Jul. 10. For *sostan* read *sestan* with .F.

Aug. 9. Here Stokes reads:

fēil Beoáin maicc Nessáin nuill, ní hattach bille.

But instead of *nuill* the best MSS (R, LB, F) have *noll*, which is the correct reading. *Noll* or *nall* has here the force of an exclamation, a use of which I have given examples in the Index Verborum to 'Fianaigecht'.

Aug. 12. Read *mochthai* in rhyme with *sochlai*. The poet uses both *mochthae* and *mochtae*, the latter rhyming with *gortae* Dec. 2.

Oct. 23. Read *tōebān ālaind Ísu*.

Under Dec. 22 Stokes renders *nad labrae* by 'which is not speech'. It should be 'which is not arrogant', literally 'of arrogance'; for *labrae* is the gen. sg. of *labrae* f., the abstract noun of *labur* 'haughty, arrogant, presumptuous', used of speech also in Sergl. Conc. § 26: *ní fresnesca co labur* 'thou shalt not answer haughtily'. For the construction cp. *nad athbi*, Apr. 15, Aug. 12.

Epil. 165. Read: *am rāth-sa dia rāith-sium*

'I am a guarantor on his behalf'.

Stokes prints *raith* and thinks of a connexion with *rath* 'grace', but the length of the *a* is borne out among other things by the quantitative assonance with *día, gūa* and *bía*.

Epil. 466. Here Stokes prints in violation of the metre *it ríched ilrathach*. Read with LB, C, F, B *i rathach*, where *rathach* is a derivative of *rath* 'grace'. Translate 'into Thy kingdom, into grace'.

Epil. 472. Instead of *ginol* 'maw' read *ginōl*. The word occurs in SR 5899 in rhyme with *tinōl*, is a compound of *gin* and *ōl*, and denotes a voracious ingurgitation.

3. Saltair na Rann, ll. 8389 ff.

In his 'Verbal System of Saltair na Rann' p. 8, Strachan makes the remark that the last stanza of the poem points to its having been composed in the tenth century. He must have in some way misunderstood the context or only glanced at it superficially. The lines in question read as follows:

Adfīadat ind ecnaide[1] *do rēir na rīagla ạs mōö,*
imrīadat co hettlaide[1] *mīli blīadna 'sind lōö.*

'The learned relate according to the rule that is greatest that a thousand years pass[2] wearily in the day'.

The reference here is to the Day of Judgment, to which the notion repeatedly expressed in the Bible "that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years" (2 Pet. III 8) is applied by the Irish poet.

4. Lucius Gwynn's edition of O'Hartagan's poem on Brugh na Bóinne. (Ériu VII, p. 219 ff.)

In § 1 for *lucht na déine, samail sneid* read *lucht nā dēine sādail snēid* 'folk that do not practise trivial sloth'.

In § 3 read *seirc* in rhyme with *meicc*. In poetry, where we can control it by rhyme, the Mid. Ir. form *meicc* for O. Ir. *maicc* first makes its appearance towards the end of the tenth century. In Saltair na Rann, however, the poet always uses *maicc*, though the twelfth century scribe writes *meicc*. Thus in l. 6604 it rhymes with *aircc*.

In § 4 read *frithṡeirc* in rhyme with *fichit*.

§ 8. Read *fathrucud, feōil* [*is*] *fīn*, where the first two words rhyme with *brathchocor beōil*.

§ 9. Read *rī in braga bricc* 'king of the speckled malt' and cp. e.g. *co torchair Aed in braga*, Rawl. B 502, 165a 27.

§ 11. Read *Bale ị mbīd Dagda* and cp. §§ 16 and 18.

§ 18. Read *Dafēta* and *ba*[*d*]*bda*.

§ 22. Read *a chind coisc na crīch*.

§ 23. Read *Rotbīa*.

§ 24. Here *drui* is still used as a disyllable, so that the insertion of *ba* is unnecessary.

§ 27. Read *Ma tic*.

§ 32. Read *bra*[*i*]*ss*. The MS. reading *dfiss* is untenable as palatal *s* is required in rhyme with *riss*. But perhaps the dot over *f* is meant to cancel the letter, for we should undoubtedly read *diss* 'insignificant' in alliteration with *duine*.

§ 39. Read *gla*[*i*]*ss*.

§ 44. Read *sunn*[*a*] *for messair macc rīg*.

§ 47. Instead of *ar Midir riss* read *ar Midir mass* as in § 50. We thus get both alliteration and rhyme with *tast*.

§ 64. Read *noco derna Rī na rūn* 'the King of mysteries has never created'.

§ 68. Instead of *rān* read *rēil* in rhyme with *fēin*.

[1]No mark of length in the MS.

[2]Literally, 'ride about'.

§ 78. Read: *āes na mnā cīalla co docht* (: *corp*). Here *cīalla* stands for *cīallda*.

5. E. J. Gwynn's edition of 'An Irish Penitential'. (Ériu VII p. 121 ff.)

P. 133, l. 13, read *fēilib nōemb* 'on festivals of saints' with the MS.

P. 138 *c*, read *fursi dochraithe* and translate 'shameless scurrility'. Cp. *menma sochraithe co nglaine comlabra*, CZ III 25, 32.

Ib. *d*, read *congbaidet*[*u*] and *fosta fri anfostai*.

Ib. *e*, read *imcaisiu* (*×imm-ad-cisiu*).

P. 140 § 2, read *banscāl*, and restore the neuter forms throughout the text.

Ib. § 4, *pax maith brāthre 'bonam pacem fratrum'*.

P. 144 § 18 read *cen* [*f*]*orchlisin*.

Ib. § 23 read *hi ginu banscāl* 'in ora mulierum'.

Ib. § 30 read *a* [*n*]*-aicneth*. *tosnī* should not be rendered 'comes to them', as the editor does in the notes, but 'impels them' (*to-sni-*, v. n. *tuinnem*).

P. 146 § 3 read *mor*[*t*]*chiund* and *mor*[*t*]*chend*. The MS. reading *cailech cerc* needs no emendation. *Cailech* 'cock' denotes the male of various birds, as e.g. *cailech lachan* 'a drake'.

P. 154, l. 5, notice the spelling *nuigen* for *nōiden*, 'quasi modo geniti'.

P. 158, § 21, read *airi*[*g*] *nduālcha* 'chief sin'.

P. 162, § 7, for *mamma* read *nammā*.

P. 164, *b*, read *duiniorcain*.

P. 166, § 4, for *acuachiunn* read *arachiunn* 'by lying in wait for him'. Here the copyist mistook the compendium for *ar* as *q* = *cu*.

Ib. § 5, for *ronoirnecht* read *rodnort nech*, and translate 'if any one has killed himself'.

P. 168 § 11, for *ancarait craibdig* read *anmcharait chrāibdig*.

Ib. § 12, for *ic a guitheth* read *danguided* 'let him beg his pardon' as in § 13.

6. Miscellaneous Texts.

In Thes. Pal. II p. 306, 5 there is no occasion to alter *nachanbēra* into *nachanmēra*, as the editors propose. *Comairche nachanbēra* means 'a safeguard that will not carry us off' viz. into captivity.

In 'Ancient Laws' I p. 16 read *a*[*r*] *rosiacht recht aicnid mar nad roacht recht litri*, where the edition has *rochat* instead of *roacht*.

Ibid., p. 134, read:

Secht sōit airech, ēraim n-arg,
fognait enech, līnaib learg.

In 'Imram Brain' § 63 *ar nā tuinsed nech diib a tīr* ought to have been rendered 'that none of them should step upon the land'. Here *tuinsed* is the 3d sg. of the past subjunctive of *donessa*. Cp. *ro thunsetar Bretnu*, literally 'they trampled upon the British', Anecd. III p. 66, l. 28.

In Zeitsch. VIII p. 119 § 36 read *gegnatar ann trī* (*tria* MS.) *gniäid*.

In Windisch's edition of TBC l. 3097 read *srōl santbrecc*, to rhyme with *gargnert* and *arget*, and translate 'satin as variegated as one may desire'.

Ibid., l. 3987 the debide rhyme demands that we should read *in rūad rinnech (: crōlindech)*.

In Tenga Bithnūa § 94 read with the MS. *cosin ciul trefiltnech*. Stokes altered into *trefiltech*, but the form with *n* may stand, as, like *blatnech, nemnech* &c. it is modelled upon adjectives where the *n* is radical, e.g. *meirtnech*.

In Zeitsch. III p. 39, l. 21 read *Grigoir ōthā Taibri* 'Gregory from the Tiber', where the MS. wrongly has *tairbri*.

In Ériu I p. 22, l. 111 read:

nī bfūaradar dhā mnāibh grāidh
acht oirdnid dubha tōiteāin.

Instead of *grāidh* the MS. has *ghrádhach*. The editor alters into *grādmnāibh*, which the metre forbids.

In LL p. 3b in the fourth stanza of Gilla Cōemāin's poem read:

tall ina clār, adba is cet, cethri lānamna fichet.

The MS. wrongly reads *da cét* instead of *fichet*.

Ibid., p. 7b1, instead of *chrém* read *chrédim*.

In Tochmarc Feirbe, l. 282 *ropat sēgaind airechta* should be rendered 'du warst die Zierde der Versammlung', not with the editor 'stattlich waren die Versammlungen'.

In Stokes' edition of Acallam na Senōrach l. 519 *tredan* stands for *trētān*, as the rhyme with *Bēcān* shows.

In Félire² p. 68 read:

[*Batar*] *būadaig muinter Dar Ercca ri tindrem,*
secht n-espuic dēc dōib dar lermuir, dí ōig ingen.

This quatrain is composed in *dechnad cummaisc*, on which see Thurneysen Ir. T. III, p. 152.

Ibid., p. 98, l. 6 read *iar n-ōgthathchor* 'after a complete revolution'.

In Ir. T. III, p. 8 § 8 the quatrain there quoted may be restored as follows:

Dīa nime nīmdermait imm ēcsi n-aird n-amrai,
hē focheird cen dolmai nēim n-ōir deirg form labrai.

'The God of Heaven has not forgotten me in regard of noble wonderful poetry: 'tis He who puts without delay a brilliance as of red gold upon my utterance'. Notice the rhyme between *focheird* and *deirg*.

Ibid., § 9, read:

Immon cathbarr, imma clēthe co rrīan rēilseng,
immon rīg rēil, immon ngrēin a hinchaib Ēirenn,
immon ndaig nderg ndergōir buidi batar ili,
immon mbarr fotallat uili, imm Ḟlann Midi.

'Around the helmet, around the roof-tree, far as the bright airy sea, around the brilliant king, around the sun that shines over Erin,[1] around the ruddy flame of yellow red gold there were gathered many: around the diadem under which all find shelter, around Flann of Meath'.

Ibid., p. 10, § 11:

Lūaidi do gabair ngraifnig ngrip
for faichthib andre trogain tricc.

'You sport your swift racing steed upon a woman's lawns in the early morning'.

Ibid., § 13:

Fō fer Fīada, fō flaith fīra, fō frēn fīrbalcc,
fō rī nōebnert tria nem fōenbrecc, fō rī rīgmacc.

'A good man is the Lord, a good prince of truth, a good truly strong root; a good king of holy strength throughout the outspread color-flecked Heaven, a good king is the royal Son'.

Ibid., p. 12, § 18:

Ardrī Ēle airechtach, cōem in cēle cōimsercach:
sochaide 'sa hoidid ūair ō chloidem chrūaid chōimeltach.

'The high king of Ely, holder of assemblies, beloved is the friend-loving companion: many are in cold death from his hard beautifully hilted sword'. As the rhymes *Ēle* (for O. Ir. *Ēli) : cēle* and *oidid : cloidem* (for O. Ir. *cloidiub)* show, the poem to which this stanza belongs cannot be older than the eleventh century. *ō* stands for *ōa*.

Ibid., p. 16, § 41:

Maith tra sin, a maicc Chellaig, a ūi Brain!
do grūad chorcra, do barr cass, do rosc glass amal in nglain,
nīrscara fri horddan n-oll airet[2] *maras mong for muir!*

'Excellent that now, O son of Kelly, grandson of Bran! Thy crimson

[1] A poetical way of saying that Flann was king of all Ireland.

[2] Or perhaps *in n-ed.*

cheek, thy curly hair, thine eye blue as crystal—thou shalt not part from high dignity so long as a crested wave remains upon the sea'.

Ibid., p. 17, § 46 and p. 45, § 68:

Is hē Feidilmith in rī dīarbo monar n-ōenlathi
aithrīgad Connacht cen chath ocus Mide do mannrad.

'It is Fedilmid the king, for whom it was the work of a single day to dethrone (the king of) Connaught without battle and to destroy Meath'.

Ibid., p. 18, § 50 and p. 46, § 72:

Ba hed ascnam forsin flaith ma dia ndernta a chomol:
in Rī beres breith for cāch, a śerc ocus a omon.

'This were to reach the Kingdom of Heaven if you could accomplish both together: to love and to fear the King who passes judgment on all'.

Ibid., § 51 and p 46, § 73 (cf. Scéla Cano, Anecd. I 12, 25):

Is ard nūall aiges imm Choire na nDrūad:
dirsan, a Rī roithes grēin nach i cēin domrala ūad!

'Loud is the uproar which rages around the Caldron of the Druids[1]: alas! oh King who makest the sun run, that it has not fallen to my lot to be far from it'.

Ibid., p. 29, § 69, p. 49, § 89 and p. 102, § 192:

Nīrb ingnad i tig Chrundmāil cāilfinnach
salann for arān cen imm: is menann
rosecc feōil a muintire amal seccas rūsc imm chrann.

'It was no wonder (to get) in Crunnmael's slender-wattled house salt on bread without butter: 'tis evident, the flesh of his family has shrunk as shrinks the bark around a tree'.

Ibid., p. 38, § 24 and p. 102, § 187:

Fēgaid ūaib sair fothūaid a mmuir mūad mīlach!
adba rōn rebach rān rogab lān līnad.

'Behold ye to the northeast the glorious monsterful sea! the abode of sportive glorious seals is in full tide'.

Ibid., p. 50, § 91:

Ni ba dūnad cen rīga, ni ba fili cen scēla,
ni ba ingen manip fīal; nī maith cīall neich nad lēga.

'It were no encampment without kings, nor a *fili* without stories, nor a maiden unless she be generous; not good is the sense of any one who does not read'.

Ibid., p. 51, § 95:

Nīm āes n-argart nā hamnert nā hamlūth. Mo menmae macc Maire macc Dē. Dūilib Dē is mō Dīa. Din barr di theoraib soillsib adneut nīth. 'Neither old age has hindered me nor strengthlessness nor lack of vigor. My mind (is on) the Son of Mary, the Son of God.

[1]The name of a whirlpool between Ireland and Scotland.

God is greater than the creatures of God. From on high from three lights I await the strife (of death)'. Note the tmesis of *nīmargart*. As to the enclitic *argart* cp. *ni argart* Wb 31 c 25; *nandargart* Ml 53 d 9. The 'three lights' are thus explained in Tenga Bithnūa § 161: *dū i failet na teora soillse ata dech lēgthair .i. soilse in Rīg thidnaicis in flaith, soilse na nōeb dia tidnacar, soilse na flatha tidnacar and*, i.e. the splendor of God, that of the saints, and of the Kingdom of Heaven. A paraphrase of the whole would be as follows: 'Neither old age nor lack of strength and vigor hinder me from fixing my mind upon Christ, the Son of God, who is greater than His works. I await calmly the struggle of death, in which (i.e. in the fight against the demons for possession of the soul) the three heavenly lights will assist me'.

Ibid., p. 57, § 107:

Bairri brēo bithbūadach,
būaid mbetha brethadbail,
ruithen rēil rathamra
ruithniges Ēbermag,
lia lūagmar lainderda,
nī lūad nach liūin.
Ēo ōrda ilchrothach,
ūaislin cach cāinchumtach,
aire ard ollairbrech
ērnes cach n-olladlaic
do buidnib balcBanba,
barr broga Briūin.

'Bairri,[1] ever-triumphant flame, glory of the world of judgments vast, bright ray of marvellous grace that illumines Eber's Plain,[2] brilliant precious stone, it is not the praise[3] of any weakling. Golden many-colored salmon, loftier than any fair structure, noble chief of vast hosts who grants every great desire to the hosts of mighty Banba, diadem of Brion's land'.

Ibid., p. 63, § 128:

Scēla mōra, maidm catha, dith flatha Findruis,
rofersat Gaill grafainn fornn, atbath ar tonn indmais.

'Great tidings: rout of battle, loss of the chief of Findross; the Norse have won the race on us, our wave of wealth has perished'.

Ibid., § 129:

Mo chara-sa Cnāmīne caras īath nĒle n-achtach,
bid fāilid frim dāmīne cia domecma cēt marcach.

[1]i.e. St. Finnbarr of Cork.
[2]i.e. the South of Ireland.
[3]Or perhaps 'he is not to be mentioned'.

I got but snake poison, I drained a river of mead, (such as would be) a load for twenty-four longheaded pack-saddled churls'.

Ibid. p. 72:

Murchad Maisten,
macc rīg Ērenn, ērge Coire
Breccāin barrdeirgg dar brug mBanba,
marcach eich dēin dorngūalannaig,
dergaid gaithlenn, grīb gēratta.
Gilla gargmōr ic guin īdal,
arsid Eorpa, ēcne tuinne,
tōcb fri bratt ngorm, glan a glaissin,
ūa rīg Chaissil cornbūaballaig,
cuilēn mīadach mīn mērfota.

'Murrough of Mullaghmast, son of Ireland's King, who rises like Brecan's red-topped whirlpool over the land of Banba, rider of a swift handbreadth-shouldered steed, reddener of spears, heroic griffin. A rough big boy at slaying idolators, Europe's veteran, salmon of the wave, his side in a dark-blue cloak of brilliant woad, grandson of the King of Cashel of bugle drinking-horns, distinguished whelp, gentle, and with tapering fingers'. The Murchad here mentioned is probably identical with the King of Leinster of that name who defeated the Norse under Ragnall A. D. 994. See my 'Ancient Irish Poetry', 2 ed., p. 75. By the 'idolators' the pagan Norse are meant. If *bratt gorm* is here a kenning for 'shield', as may well be, translate perhaps: 'trusting in a dark-blue shield'.

Ibid., p. 73, § 30:

Cuir fāilti frimm, a rī Rōirenn, a lind buidi būaball,
a glass ar oscaraib Ērenn, a chostadaig Chūalann.

'Bid me welcome, O King of Roiriu, thou yellow liquor of drinking-horns, thou lock against the dunces of Erin, thou that contestest Cualu!'

Ibid., p. 75, § 36:

A ōclaig ōic, nochon urusa do thathāir,
is mōr do nert, is acat atā cert Cathāir.

'Thou young warrior, 'tis not easy to revile thee; great is thy power: Cathair's right is thine'.

Ibid., p. 78, § 47:

Femen indiu is ferr a chāch mēt a thened is a thūath,
cōlchaire na nōeb cen dīth, crīch dian cōem cēolchaire chūach.

'Femen today is better than ever, what with the number of its hearths and tribes; land without decay, for which the saints long, land to which the song of cuckoos is dear'.

Ibid., p. 78, § 48:

Rūaidrī Rātha Broccāin bricc, bēimm dobeir nathair do neoch,
ūa rīg Chairn, clann brāthar Brīain, is dath ind fīaich for a coch.

'Rory of variegated Rath Brocain, sting such as an adder imparts to all, grandson of the King of Carn, offspring of Brian's brother, with the raven's color upon his horse'.

Ibid., p. 79, § 50:

A gilli glūair, geib dūain mBrīain, geib dūain mBrīain, a gilli glūair!
Brīan broga in būair, būaid fer Fāil, būaid fer Fāil Brīan broga in būair.

'Thou brilliant lad, sing a song of Brian! sing a song of Brian, thou brilliant lad! Brian of the land of kine, glory of the men of Fal, glory of the men of Fal is Brian of the land of kine'.

Ibid., p. 82, § 60:

Conchobur cath merggech mōr tentech trēn,
dīburgud d'arm rindech rūad grindech gēr.

'Connor of great fiery strong standarted battalions, hurler of pointed red fierce sharp weapons'.

Ibid., p. 83, § 65:

Āine ingen Manannāin maicc Lir, in lā rolēic a fer
dotāet si anīar ar mo chenn-sa co mbīmm-sea thīar ina tig sech cach tech.

'Aine, daughter of Manannan son of Ler, on the day when she left her husband she comes from the west for me, so that I am in the west in her house beyond every house'.

Ibid., § 69:

A Choimdiu, cluinte mo nūal oc nūagud do scēl!
is tū as diliu lim-sa dīb, a Rī nime nēl.

'O Lord, hear my cry as I tell Thy story anew. Of all in it Thou art dearest to me, O King of the Heaven of clouds'.

Ibid., p. 86, § 86:

A maicc rīg na Cairce a Cūalainn, fīn duit is mid mailte mōidim;
is frit, a mīlid a Mālainn, dālaim dorīrib ic Rōirinn.

'O son of the King of the Rock out of Cualu, I vow to you wine and . . .[1] mead: with you, o warrior from Malu, I make a tryst in earnest at Roiriu'.

Ibid., p. 87, § 98:

[1] *mailte* (in rhyme with *Cairce*) is obscure to me. It is possibly a loan from Engl. *malt*.

Descert Laigen longphortach, līmtha a n-airm rigni rūada,
clanda finda Fergusa, fir dia ndernus-sa dūana.

'The men of South Leinster of the many encampments, whose rigid red weapons are polished, fair children of Fergus, men for whom I have made songs'.

Ibid., p. 88, § 103:

A rī Femin, fāilte frim-sa, a rith mara buirb tar brūachaib,
a gnūis roderg, a rind ratha, a chomferg catha fri Crūachain.

'King of Femen, bid me welcome, thou rush of the fierce sea across the borders, thou ruddy face, thou star of grace, thou fury of battle against Croghan'.

Ibid., p. 88, § 107:

Ingen lāich as luchra a Laignib nach len locht,
comṡolus eter a failgib is a folt.

'Daughter of the most brilliant warrior from Leinster, to whom no fault clings: equally resplendent both in her arm-rings and her hair'.

Ibid., p. 89, § 112:

Monūarān, a ūgaire, notmairfet ōic Almaine:
mar rachūala in cūgaire noco cluinfea in damgaire.

'Alas, O shepherd! warriors of Almain will slay you: you will not hear the bellowing of the deer as you have heard the cuckoo's cry', i.e. you will be slain before the fall.

Ibid., p. 91, § 128:

Cuirn maicc Donnchada dlegait buidechus, buide benngella:
francaig fognama[1], *fine chuindgeda, santaig senmeda.*

'The drinking horns of Donagh's son are entitled to thanks, horn-pledges of yellow drink: the serving Franks,[2] an importunate[3] race, are greedy of old mead'.

Ibid., p. 92, § 135:

Less Rūadrach rebānach, 'sē slūagach sribānach,
less n-ēnach n-ailēnach, less fērach fidānach.

'The sportive court of Rory, and it full of hosts, a constant stream; a court full of birds and islet plots, a grassy wooded court'.

Ibid., p. 93, § 142:

'Can as tic macc lēgind?'
'Ticim ō Chlūain chēlbind;
īar lēgad mo lēgind
tēgim sīs co Sord.'

[1]The MS. has *fochama*. Read perhaps *frichnama*.

[2]i.e. the Frankish (i.e. Gaulish) mercenaries. See above p. 35.

[3]Literally, 'of asking'.

'Indis scēla Clūana!'
'Indisfet 'na cūala:
Sinnaig imma hūaga
cthait brūana bolg.'

'Whence comes the son of reading?' 'I come from sweet-omened Cluain; after finishing my reading I go down to Swords'. 'Tell tidings of Cluain!' 'I will tell what I have heard: foxes around its graves, devour morsels of bellies.' Cluain probably stands for Clonmacnois, and the description of its deserted state seems to point to its destruction by Vikings.

Ibid., p. 100, § 176:

Tallad a ulcha dc istig ōil:
frim fer cumtha nochorbo chōir.

'His beard was taken off him in the drinking-house: to my companion it was not fair'.

Ibid., p. 103, § 195:

Rī Ēlc cuin tēit immach slūaigedach,
nī thora ammuich is ē slān Rīgbardān.

'When the King of Ely goes forth ready for a hosting, Riordan will not reach home unscathed'. Another example of *tora*, the enclitic of *do-roa*, is found in SR 2747: *nīrtora dīliu* 'no deluge will reach us'.

VIII. Notes on Thurneysen's 'Handbuch des Alt-irischen'.

§ 22.5. In later MSS. *x* is also written for *ks*, as in *éxe*, Corm. § 150 (YBL).

§ 23. *h* often stands for *s* in later MSS., as *inna hesom*, Aneed. II 60, 31.

§ 40. *didiu* should not be classed with weak-stressed words like *tra*. It has sufficient stress to rhyme.

§ 51. The archaic form *dea* continues to be used in Old- and early Middle-Irish in the sense of a pagan deity as distinguished from *día* 'God'.

§ 63 c. The form *tūissech* for *tōissech* arose under the influence of *tūs*.

§ 64. In Old-Ir. poetry *drui* is always disyllabic, gen. *druäd*, n. pl. *druïd*.

§ 69. *i* is preserved also before *nn*, as in *rofinnadar*.

§ 76. We have the same phenomenon in early loan-words such as *lubar* from Lat. *labor*, *popa (pupu)* from Lat. *papa* &c.

§ 79. With *tilchaib* Ml 14a 9 cp. *forsin tilich*, Aneed. I 5, 29.

§ 119. Norse *Dungaðr* = Ir. *Dūnchad*.

§ 162. Palatalisation of *cht* is also found in *glēnuicht (: cuirp)* SR 1358.

§ 201. The curious spelling *arbcittet* in SP is hardly a clerical error, as it recurs repeatedly in *Imram Brain* and elsewhere.

§ 224. For *tlaith* read *tlāith* = W. *tlawd.*

§ 238.1. For 'wert der Name' read 'geliebter Name' *(inmain n-ainm).*

§ 247. In archaic poetry the dual *macc* occurs without the addition of *dā.*

§ 250.1. The dative after comparatives does not always denote the object of comparison, but may have the function of the instrumental, as e.g. *ōibniti in tech for tīchtain* 'the house is the more delightful through your coming'.

Ibid. 3. In archaic language the dative occurs without *do,* as e.g. *gairc Caeur* 'short life to Caier', Corm. § 698; *fairciter mairc mathi maccaib sau sochraite,* ib. § 1172.

§ 261. With *Bibracte* 'abode of beavers' cp. the place-name *Connacht.*

§ 265. The fem. suffix *-rad* also forms collectives of nouns denoting animals, as *damrad* 'a herd of deer'.

§ 272. Ir. *Benēn* does not come directly from *Benignus,* but from *Benegnus* (pronounced *Benengnus*[1]), the form used in Celtic Latinity. Cf. *benegni* Wb 22d. Similarly W. *swyn,* Ir. *sēn* from *segnum.*

§ 318. In *caithre* Zeitschr. VIII 198 § 18 we have an old acc. pl. of *cathir,* for later *cathracha.*

§ 322.1. The older form *suëd,* gen. sg. of *suï* (W. *hywydd),* for later *suäd,* is preserved in the proper name *Messinsued,* Lism. L. p. 356, 'fosterson of the sage'.

Ibid. 4. An older form of *glēo* is *glēu,* Ir. T. III p. 10, 8, in rhyme with *bēu.*

§ 323. A later form *fichtiu* for the acc. pl. *fichtea* occurs in Rawl. B 502, p. 156b in rhyme with *Briccriu.*

§ 329.2. The Hiberno-Latin form answering to Ir. *Ēriu* is *Evcrio,* which occurs e.g. in the Reichenau codex of Adamnan's Life of Columba.

§ 337. Add the voc. sg. *a maig!* LU 51b.

§ 338. The oldest form of the gen. sg. of *clū* is *clūë,* Ir. T. III p. 38 § 27.

§ 340.1. A dat. sg. *mī* occurs often in Old-Ir. poetry.

§ 366. In archaic poetry *bith* 'ever' is used independently, as *nad etsa bās bith,* Amra Col. C. § 98.

§ 388. An older form *cōicc* 'fifty' occurs in Zeitschr. VI 310, 1.

§ 391. The oldest form of the preverbal *ceta-* is *cete-*, which occurs in *cetegabsat*, Zeitschr. VIII 305, 26.

§ 407. *ol (or)* with plural subject: *or ind Albanaich*, Aneed. I 3, 13; *ar an ōic*, ib. 4, 11; *or inn ōic*, ib. 14.

§ 414. The older form *de* of the infixed pron. *da* is found in *condetubert* Zeitschr. VIII 308, 34; ib. *condegegoin* 309, 2; *condetapert* Aneed. III 60, 24.

§ 428. Add *berthis si* 'she carries it', Zeitschr. VI 310, 9.

§ 431. Under *fíad* add: 3 sg. m. *fíada*, Aneed. II 13, 8.

§ 432. Under *tri* add: 1 pl. *trin*, Aneed. III 49, 1.

§ 438. Add *forœ* 'upon his', O'Mule. 537, *doa* 'to his', Aneed. III 48, 5; 58, 9; *inai* 'in his', Aneed. III 48, 6.

§ 441. Add *ba hae hē* 'it was his', Amra Col. C. § 19.

§ 457. Add *sechiō ōenrainn* 'from whatever single part', Karlsr. Aug.

§ 459. Add *in hē ba nā hē*, O'Mule. 403; *im ba bās ba bethu*, Wb 23 b 32.

§ 477. *innunn* seems to stand for *inn-ṡund*.

§ 479. A 3 pl. *cadessine* occurs in Rawl. B 502, p. 118b 47.

§ 487.4. An older form *are·* for *ara·* occurs in *arerāncatar*, CZ VIII 308, 34; *aretoing* Aneed. III 59, 4.

§ 557. Add *taccru-sa*, Aneed. III 28, 1; *biru-sa*, ib. 15; *nī cuilliu*, ib. 57, 15; *ibiu*, Trip. 54, 15; *gaibiu*, ib. 14; *nodfōidiu*, TBC (Wi.) p. 850.

§ 653. Add *atabiu*, Zeitschr. III 216,5.

§ 654. Add 2 sg. *condasciche*, Rawl. B 502, p. 83b 14.

§ 658. In Ir. T. III 105, 31 *rofēsid : Dēsib*.

§ 682. *siaicht*, Zeitsch. VIII 306, 31.

§ 711. *alte* 'was reared', Zeitschr. VIII 311, 17.

§ 723. Add *intinnscital*, Zeitschr. VIII 175.

§ 731. Add *greimm* 'hold' v. n. of *grennim*.

§ 758. Add *olbūi*, Laws II 254, 7.

§ 767. Add *cēin nombēo*, Imr. Māiledūin (poem) § 221.

§ 768. Add sg. II *bie: tusa for urchra bie*, Aneed. II 11, 31.

§ 772. Add *atin buidig de* 'we are grateful for it', Aneed. I 5, 18.

§ 818. Add *nad arrchiuir* Zeitschr. VIII 308, 7.

§ 820. Add *cenmibī*, Ēr. VII 148 § 8.

§ 836. Add *la ndalta* 'with their fosterson', LL 311a 23.

§ 907. Ir. *cnāir* is borrowed from the Hibern.-Latin form *ienuarius*.

[1]Cf. the spelling *singnum* in YBL (Corm. § 979).

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